

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 303 847

EA 020 551

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TITLE Is There a New Paradigm in Educational Administration?
PUB DATE Apr 88
NOTE 33p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 5-9, 1988).
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120) -- Information Analyses (070) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrator Education; Cultural Influences; *Educational Administration; Educational Economics; Elementary Secondary Education; Foundations of Education; Leadership; *Marxian Analysis; *Organizational Theories; *Political Socialization; Social Influences; Social Stratification
IDENTIFIERS British Commonwealth; Deakin University (Australia)

ABSTRACT

Although Griffiths (1979) argued that the turmoil in the field of organizational theory would inevitably spill over into educational administration, presaging a paradigm shift, the professoriate in educational administration in North America has largely ignored, or reacted with hostility, to debate over the theoretical foundations of the field. This essay accordingly surveys current thinking in America and in the British Commonwealth countries on the crisis in the theoretical foundations of educational administration. Topics include a critique and reformulation of the notion of leadership, a cultural perspective on the work of schools, the problem of school evaluation, the economics of schooling, and the administration of gender in education. The essay concludes by delineating the premises of a new theory of educational administration being developed at Deakin University in Australia, based on neo-Marxian critical theory: the notion that educational administration is socially constructed and that organizational structures serve to reproduce the existing unequal social order. (TE)

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Is There a New Paradigm in Educational Administration?

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Paper presented to the Organisational Theory Special Interest Group
Annual Conference of the American Educational Research Association
New Orleans, April 5-10, 1988

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Intellectual Turmoil and Paradigm Shift.

It is the best part of a decade since Griffiths (1979) 'reported the field of educational administration to be in intellectual turmoil. Griffiths argued that as the 'parent' field of organisational theory was in turmoil this turmoil would inevitably spill over into educational administration, perhaps presaging a paradigm shift of the kind Kuhn (1962) suggested occurred periodically in the natural sciences.

Griffiths pointed to a number of new voices in organisational theory but could find only one in educational administration - that of Greenfield (1975) whose initial attack on the postivist assumptions of the dominant paradigm was an echo of debates that were well developed in both natural and social sciences (it was after all Karl Popper who had declared the death of positivism some years earlier! -see Schilpp, 1967:69 and Popper, 1959).

Since that initial assessment Griffiths has, almost alone among the older generation of theorists of educational administration, attempted to review the research traditions of educational administration in terms of their theoretical underpinnings (1983a); to address the question raised by Greenfield regarding the scientific status of educational administration (1983b); and to locate newer approaches in educational administration (in particular the work of Greenfield, Foster and Bates) within the atlas of social theory proposed by Burrell and Morgan (Griffiths, 1985).

In his work over the past decade Griffiths has shown an admirable concern with the traditions, orientation and possibilities of the field, taking criticisms seriously and (for the most part) treating emerging alternative positions with integrity. The only other established scholar in the field of whom similar things can be said is Culberston (1980, 1981a, 1981b, 1983, 1986, 1988) although his work is largely historical, concerned with the intellectual location of educational administration within a history of ideas.

In general, however, the professoriate has ignored the debate over the foundations of the field or, when it has paid attention, has frequently reacted with an ideological knee-jerk to any disturbance of a comfortable complacency. This latter reaction is exemplified at its worst by the parodies of scholarly discussion produced by Willower who has insisted on mounting ad hominem attacks on Greenfield (see Gronn, 1983) and declaring the work of Foster and Bates to be part of a 'worldwide Marxist movement' dominated by 'the leadership of the USSR'!! (Willower, 1983). Such nonsense can safely be ignored in any serious assessment of current developments in the field.

But what of the question raised by Griffiths concerning the possibility of a new paradigm emerging from the intellectual turmoil in the field of organisational theory which was initially imported into educational administration by Greenfield? Griffiths explicitly locates the problem within the framework devised by Kuhn (1962/1970) for the analysis of scientific revolutions. Kuhn argues that sooner or later a crisis develops within the field of science as the dominant paradigm that informs a period of 'normal science' becomes incapable of dealing with 'anomalies'. Such crises are typically resolved in one of three ways.

Sometimes normal science ultimately proves able to handle the crisis-provoking problem despite the despair of those who have seen it as the end of an existing paradigm. On other occasions the problem resists even apparently radical new approaches...Then the problem is labelled and set aside for a future generation with more developed tools. Or, finally...a crisis may end with the emergence of a new candidate for paradigm and with the ensuing battle over its acceptance (Kuhn 1962,84).

Kuhn's model of scientific change is not accepted without demur by scientists. Feyerabend (1975), for instance, argues that science is inevitably and continuously anarchistic. But Kuhn's influence has been widespread. This influence has extended to analyses of

the development of social science, notably in Friedrichs' Sociology of Sociology (1970) and in Gouldner's epic Coming Crisis of Western Sociology (1970). More recently Burrell and Morgan (1979) have employed the notion of paradigm to produce what amounts to a spread-sheet analysis of the universe of social theory, one which crams some rather suprising bedfellows (Morgan, 1980) into a two by two matrix of incommensurable paradigms which they advocate as appropriate bases for organisational analysis and research . It is Burrell and Morgan's notion of paradigm diversity that informs Griffiths' analysis of both organisational theory and educational administration (Griffiths, 1985, 1988). Such paradigmatic diversity is taken to be characteristic of the period of crisis which may (or may not) precede a significant paradigm shift and the emergence of a new period of 'normal science' . But what evidence do we have of such crisis and paridigmatic diversity in educational administration ?

A Crisis in Educational Administration?

Griffiths' claim of intellectual turmoil in the parent fields of organisational and social theory are quite well borne out by the major arguments that have taken place in these fields during the past thirty years. During this period, the 'normal science' paradigm of positivistic structure-functionalism has been under sustained attack for the inadequacy of its epistemology, its impoverished ontology and its social irresponsibility (see Friedrichs, 1970). At the same time the contradictory and incommensurable assumptions of various paradigms (in particular the structuralist and interpretive paradigms) have been celebrated in the literature (see Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Moreover the multiplicity of research methodologies advocated by various social scientists have added significantly to the diversity of strategies available for social research (Morgan, 1980).

Whether this diversity and disagreement indicates an imminent paradigm shift or simply an immanent controversy is difficult to decide. But such an assessment clearly needs to take account of social and historical differences. For instance, while it is clear that the postivistic inheritance of Enlightenment thought reached

its peak in social science in the United States in the work of Parsons and his disciples during the 1950's, a hermeneutic (interpretive) tradition has existed in Europe for a prolonged period. Thus, what might appear in the United States to be a novel challenge to 'normal' social science might well be regarded in Europe as somewhat passe. Indeed, it can be cogently argued that Parson's appropriation of Weber into his theory of social action deliberately ignored the interpretive aspects of Weber's notion of Verstehen (see Burrell & Morgan, 1979), thus misleading a generation of American social scientists.

This ignorance of a long standing European tradition is, of course, one of the points made by Greenfield in his critique of the positivist basis of theory in administration, and especially educational administration, in his celebrated 1974 address to the Bristol conference of the IIEP which Griffiths sees as the beginning of the period of turmoil in educational administration. But just as one swallow does not make a summer, one (albeit unexpectedly controversial) paper does not bring about a paradigm shift. What is needed for that to occur is a crisis in the field and the emergence of a more powerful explanatory framework which can transform the confusion of that crisis into a coherent theoretical position and provide a background of alternative 'natural' assumptions to inform and guide practice and research in the field.

To judge by the most recent survey of the field (Boyan, 1988), Griffiths was overly optimistic when he judged in 1979 that the field was in intellectual turmoil. He was, perhaps, more accurate in his observation that 'if educational administration is not in a state of intellectual turmoil, it should be, because its parent, the field of organizational theory, certainly is' (1979,43).

The Handbook of research on Educational Administration is, in fact, more characterised by disillusion and ennui than by intellectual turmoil and constitutes a rather mournful admission that the 'theory movement' is still the best that educational administration in the United States has to offer. This depressing

conclusion may be partly attributed to the Handbook's xenophobia which is quite cheerfully and unapologetically admitted by Boyan

So the Handbook is guilty of the "narcissism and the tyranny of isolation" that William Walker (1984) attributes to scholarship in educational administration in the United States in the period from 1954 to 1984 (1988,preface).

In the Handbook various scholars review the period of post war scholarship. Culbertson laments that '...the theory movement in its current embattled state has lost its earlier vitality' (1988,20). Boyan concludes that

The explanatory aspect of the study of administrator behaviour in education over 30 years appears to be an incomplete anthology of short stories connected by no particular story line or major themes (1988,92).

Griffiths suggests that there has been little change in 25 years When the view of research is restricted to educational administration, one finds the same kind of theory being espoused as 25 years ago - positivism (1988,48).

The picture provided by these major surveys does not encourage one to believe that the field of educational administration is in intellectual turmoil. Indeed there seems to have been greater turmoil a decade ago (see Cunningham, Hack and Nystrand, 1977). There is no sense of crisis noticable in the Handbook, no sense of a field seriously concerned at the inadequacy of its pre-suppositions or in search of an alternative paradigm. Complacency is a more apt description than turmoil.

Such a stultifying complacency appears to be a hallmark not only of the Handbook but also of the educational administration professoriate in the United States. Macarthy (1987), for instance, reports that while

practitioners increasingly are questioning the relevance of their university preparation, and the public is voicing dissatisfaction with the leadership in our schools...the majority of respondents in the 1986 study (of university professors) perceived their educational administration programs as good or excellent (p5).

Data from the same survey suggested that 'professors in educational administration are satisfied with the status quo' (p.5.); that 'the professors who have been in their roles less than five years reflect for the most part similar activities and attitudes as their more senior colleagues' and that 'faculty attitudes have not changed significantly since 1972' (p.5). Moreover fewer professors were interested in theory than fourteen years previously:

It was disturbing that half as many respondents in 1986 as in 1972 indicated that the literature in our field should be theory based (1987,5).

These are hardly descriptions of a field ready to face a crisis in its foundations. More a picture of a field content with the contemplation of a further 25 years of drift and disillusion.

What are we to make of a field that brushes aside serious criticisms of the epistemological and ontological foundations of its preferred theoretical base? That is complacently satisfied with the maintenance of a status quo which is regarded by practitioners and public alike as less and less adequate? That regards the role of theory in sustaining and developing practice as only marginally relevant? Certainly not that it is a field working towards the challenge of an alternative paradigm.

If the crisis of educational administration is not recognised within the profession, are there other possible sources of crisis? The answer may well be yes. For instance the increasingly critical public scrutiny of education and educational administration may

well lead to legislative intervention and reorganisation of the professoriate (UCEA, 1987). Similarly, structural and demographic factors may well lead to increasing difficulties in maintaining the more than 300 doctoral programs on offer in the United States (Mcarthy, 1987). In these latter respects two factors are especially important. Firstly

almost half of the educational administration faculty members [of the 3000+ included in the 1986 survey] were 55 years of age or older and the majority planned to retire by age 65.¹ (Mcarthy, 1987:4-5).

This means that the maintenance of the field will require some 1500 appropriately qualified professors in the next ten years. However

According to the faculty members surveyed in 1986, most educational administration programs are not currently emphasizing the preparation of professors, and doctoral programs have become more practitioner oriented since 1972 (Mcarthy, 1987:5).

Moreover

...the decline in faculty compensation and deterioration in working conditions are making it increasingly difficult to attract the most able individuals who have numerous other career options (Mcarthy, 1987:).

In view of these factors it would seem that any crisis in the profession is more likely to be provoked by declining practitioner and public acceptance, failure to recruit new talent and declining

¹This may, of course be an encouraging sign if Kuhn's quotation of Max Planck is taken into account: "a new scientific truth does not triumph by convincing its opponents and making them see the light, but rather because its opponents eventually die, and a new generation grows up that is familiar with it" (Kuhn, 1962:151)

institutional support than by any incipient intellectual discomfort.

We must conclude from the above analysis that while the American professoriate generally refuses to acknowledge the inadequacies of the accepted theoretical foundation of the field (or more accurately perhaps, is showing a declining interest in the theoretical foundations of the field -despite the efforts of a few scholars like Griffiths and Culbertson) the field is certainly facing a crisis. The crisis is clearly not one which will allow us to think of it as one of genuine paradigm diversity resulting from keen intellectual endeavour which might, in Kuhn's world of scientific revolutions, include the precursor of a new paradigm of normal science. Rather the crisis is one precipitated by failing intellectual endeavour in a field that has taken its roots for granted and forgotten to either water or prune the struggling tree.

However, in the search for evidence of the intellectual turmoil he seeks Griffiths notes on a number of occasions that

The current situation in the British Commonwealth is somewhat different. Although the volume of literature on educational administration is quite small, it is heavily oriented to a critical view of traditional theory. A recent article Bates...for instance, listed 73 references, of which 40 were written by Commonwealth scholars and, in many cases, were published in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. (1983/1985:70)

So what is going on in the Commonwealth? Clearly the most important Commonwealth scholar for the past decade has been Thom Greenfield. In adopting a subjectivist position² Greenfield (1973,

²While Greenfield initially built his position around a phenomenological perspective (1975) he later distanced himself from it under the influence of existentialism and a Weberian form

1975) challenged both the ontological and epistemological foundations of American educational administration as well as attempting to reassert the moral basis of administrative action. Greenfield was, in fact, attempting to redefine the 'science' of educational administration, in the process attacking the hubris of positivist researchers who claimed to know better than practitioners what the 'reality' of administration was. This has been Greenfield's consistent theme through a decade and a half of sustained critique of administrative theory in education. It is well stated in a recent paper.

What is required now is a transformation of the administrative scientist's attitude toward the reality he studies. Scientists inspired by positivism approach administrators with the conviction that their theories and methods enable them to know administration in a way mere practitioners never could. The reverse assumption now seems a better point of departure: administrators know administration; scientists don't. The point of such inquiry would be to enable scientists to come to know what administrators know and to bring a fresh and questioning perspective to it. To accomplish this purpose, we might well return to one of Simon's original starting points and seek to understand the logic and psychology of human choice. But that will require the study of decisions, will, and intention in all their depth, perplexity and subjective uncertainty. The new science will surely also require giving up the notion that decisions and organisations themselves can be controlled by science. Greater insight such science may offer, but greater control, no. (1986:75)

Greenfield's work was taken seriously by few American scholars. Griffiths, while not uncritical of Greenfield's work, was clearly well enough read in the wider field of social science and

of 'interpretive' sociology (1977-78) and most particularly the European tradition of hermeneutical analysis (1980).

perceptive enough to recognise the importance of what Greenfield was saying; indeed to lament the lack of interest among his countrymen.

The Greenfield critique has been hailed in the British Commonwealth contries and largely ignored in the United States of America. ... (I)gnoring the critique is unfortunate because what Greenfield did was to tell professors of educational administration that the social sciences are undergoing tremendous changes and that the philosophical and methodological bases on which the movement was founded (logical positivism) are now considered by most philosophers of science, and many social scientists, to be outmoded... (1985:6)

The 'Griffiths-Greenfield debate'³ is well documented by Herda (1978) and Gronn (1983).

Gronn was one of the early and enthusiastic supporters of Greenfield's work, bringing it to the attention of Australian scholars and basing some of his own work on the alternative ontological and epistemological precepts advocated by Greenfield. His work on school councils (Gronn, 1979); his critique of neo-Taylorism in educational administration (Gronn, 1982); his major reviews of Greenfield's work (Gronn, 1983; 1985); his study of administrative agendas in meetings (Gronn, 1984a); his study of a professional development programme for school administrators (Gronn, 1987) show a significant shift towards a subjectivist approach to the study of administrators in action: one informed increasingly by literary, historical, biographical and psychobiographical studies.

Greenfield's work was also influential in my own early work in educational administration (Bates, 1980a). But while Greenfield

³The label is, as Gronn points out, rather misleading as Griffiths was probably more receptive to and influenced by Greenfield's critique than any other American scholar.

and I share some of the same criticisms of the positivist tradition, my own work was more informed initially by the New Sociology of Education (Bates, 1978a, 1978b, 1980a, 1980b, 1981a) and, more recently, by theories of social and cultural reproduction (Bates, 1983, 1985a), the Birmingham Cultural Studies group (Bates, 1986, 1987) and by Critical Theory (Bates, 1982a, 1984, 1985b, 1988 in press).

Much of this work has been undertaken in conjunction with a small group of colleagues at Deakin University in the course of preparing learning materials for distance education students working within Graduate Diploma of Educational Administration (fourth year level) and Master of Educational Administration (fifth year level) programs. Since 1979 some sixty 100-150 page monographs have been produced as part of the program development. In addition to these materials members of the Social and Administrative Studies Research Group have published over 200 papers in various international journals.⁴

This is a major intellectual project and one which is devoted to the reconstruction of educational administration as a field of study. The project, as it is presently constructed, begins with a critique of the positivist foundations of educational administration (Smyth, 1982) followed by an examination of the crisis in society and educational administration (Rattray-Wood & Parrott (1982); alternative approaches to studying educational administration (England, 1982) and studies of the administrator as manager (Watkins, 1982) and educator (Codd, 1982a). Administration as philosophy in action is discussed (Codd, 1982b); the difficulties of adjudicating between competing claims addressed (Clark, 1982) and the relationships between bureaucracy, education

⁴ This is surely an indication that things are not quite as Griffiths suggested in 1983 in his comment that in the British Commonwealth 'the volume of literature is quite small'!! A catalogue of the monographs is available from Deakin University Press, Deakin University, Victoria 3217, Australia and a list of published papers from the SAS Research Group, School of Education, Deakin University, Vic 3217, Aust.

and democracy in educational administration outlined (Bates, 1982b).

On the theoretical basis provided by this initial analysis a critique and reformulation of the notion of leadership is undertaken. Traditional views are canvassed and found wanting (Foster, 1986a; Gronn, 1986); the role of the educational administrator in the development of educational ideas is addressed (Smyth, 1986a, 1986b); the notion of administrator as a contributor to the development of a democratic community is outlined (Rizvi, 1986) and the implications of this alternative perspective for educational administration are reviewed (Watkins, 1986).

A cultural perspective on the work of schools is also developed, based upon the notion that the major resources of schools are culture and knowledge (Bates, (ed) 1980; 1981; 1986) and that all other resources are managed in relation to the management of these two fundamental resources. This perspective is employed to assess the issue of school effectiveness (Angus, 1986); policy formation (Caldwell & Spinks, 1986); the importance of time as a resource (Watkins, 1986b); and a case study of class, culture and curriculum in a school conducted (Angus et al 1986).

The problems of evaluating schools are also addressed. Here the early work (Bates et al 1981) reviewed various notions of evaluation (Codd, 1981a); examined the epistemological bases of these approaches (Codd, 1981b); explored the potential of aesthetic approaches to evaluation (Parrott & Codd, 1981); discussed the ideological components of the evaluation process (Bates, 1981c) as well as the relationship between evaluation and control (Dawkins, 1981). These analyses were employed to set out an alternative critical approach to evaluation (Bates, 1981d). This theoretical approach was then applied to the evaluation of curriculum (Bates, 1981e); classrooms (Smyth, 1981); and school evaluation systems (Bates, 1981f). The administrative and social context of evaluation was then assessed (Clarke, 1981) and a case

study approach to school evaluation and review was outlined (Bates, 1981g).

Alongside these theoretical studies in the Graduate Diploma were set options from the study of Classroom Processes, the Sociology of Education, Education and Community and, most importantly a major course in administrative praxis within which students developed case studies of their own administrative interests. This agenda was directed towards the re-focussing of educational administration on educational issues within the context of the school.

The second major program addressed a wider series of issues in the attempt to explicate and analyse some of the broader influences at work in the administrative structuring of educational systems. Beginning with an historical analysis of the Efficiency (Callahan, 1960) and Theory (Cunningham, Hack and Nystrand, 1977; Griffiths, 1985) movements in educational administration the contribution of Greenfield is critically assessed (Gronn, 1983) as is that of the New Sociology of Education (Bates, 1983), the early Frankfurt School (Giroux, 1983), political science (Boyd, 1983), political theory (Iannacone, 1983), Marxism (Watkins, 1983), and critical philosophy (Codd, 1983). Several emerging analyses were also examined including three focussed on stability and change (Popkewitz, 1983), professionalism (Silver, 1983) and Weick's metaphor of loose coupling (Foster, 1983). A series of critical interviews with Australian educators provided further illustrative material and students of the course have published case studies of various aspects of educational administration in Australia for several years (Working Papers, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988 in press).

This general background provides an introduction to an extended analysis of the possibility of a critical approach to policy analysis (Prunty, 1984) in which the role of the state (White, 1987), and the specific issues of inequality (Smith, 1984), gender (Towns, 1984), multiculturalism (Rizvi, 1984) and the relations between youth, schooling and work (Watkins, 1984) are addressed.

The relationship between educational administration, public administration and the state is the next major area of analysis. The historical differences between Liberal and Marxist approaches are examined (Bates, 1985c); the implication of public administration in the crisis of the state is assessed (Bates, 1985d); the question of agency and structure in administration is discussed (Watkins, 1985a as is the possibility of democratising education (Watson, 1985). Within the context of this discussion the role of the State in curricular formation (Musgrave, 1985) and school assessment (Hannan, 1985) are analysed.

Explanations of the economics of schooling are also examined (Harrold, 1986); as are the economics of teacher quality and supply (Burke, 1986); the relations between technology, the economy and education (Watkins, 1986); social division, economy and schooling (Dwyer et al, 1986) and the political economy of schooling (Freeland, 1986)

School-based professional development is also explored in a program of practical, experience-based analyses employing techniques of clinical supervision (Smyth, 1984a), professional journals (Holly, 1984) and critical examination (Smyth 1984b).

Currently a series of monographs on the administration of gender in education are being prepared (Blackmore and Kenway, forthcoming) as are extension and revisions of the above materials.

Alongside this teaching program several conferences on specific issues have been held. The first, concerning critical theory and educational administration was held in 1981. More recently topics addressed have been ethics and educational administration (Rizvi, 1985) and gender, education and organisation (Blackmore and Kenway, 1988 in press).

Parallel research investigations have also been conducted including case studies of the negotiated reality of schools (Bates et al, 1983; Angus, 1986, 1988 in press); the politics of regional

education (Bates et al, 1983); the reorganisation of the State Education Department (Bates et al, 1985); the operations of regional boards (Watkins, Angus & Rizvi, 1985); school closure (Watkins, 1986c); assisted school self evaluations (Smyth, Kemmis & Henry, 1980); case studies of clinical supervision (Smyth, Henry, Marcus & Meadows, 1982); professional renewal in TAFE Colleges (Smyth, Henry, Dickie & Mack, 1984); case studies of transition education programs (Dawkins et al 1984-5); a major evaluation of the State Participation and Equity Project (Rizvi & Kemmis, 1987). In addition some thirty PhD theses have been or are currently being completed under the supervision of the Social and Administrative Studies Research Group.

This brief and incomplete listing indicates that there is now a substantial body of work issuing from Deakin University in terms of both theoretical and research programs. This work is, in general, informed by substantially different assumptions from those made by the traditions of American educational administration. For instance the starting point for the analysis of educational administration is that it is a socially constructed system of behaviour which is the result of contestation between social groups of unequal power in terms of such matters as, for example, class, race and gender. The resulting organisational structures can be seen as facilitating the agency of certain groups and limiting that of others. In this sense organisations represent a particular mobilisation of bias. This bias is not always predictable as differing settlements are reached in different contexts at different times. Central to such settlements are ideological appeals to particular notions of technical efficiency (which is itself an ideology) and to various conceptions of social order including those of the 'rationally' administered society on the one hand and of participatory community on the other. The processes of contestation through which settlements are reached are conducted through the exercise of various forms of power. While some of these are in extremis physically coercive most of them are economic, political and cultural. The tendency of established groups is to use whatever means are at their disposal to define their particular

mobilisation of bias as a 'natural' order and to be preoccupied with reproducing that cultural and social order in as intact a form as possible through mechanisms such as education. The tendency of non-established groups is to contest such a hegemony and win concessions which mobilise organisational, social and cultural resources in ways which produce a counter hegemony. Such contestation means that administration cannot be viewed as a neutral, value free exercise and must be seen as centrally concerned with ethics; especially as they inform social, political and cultural concerns. In this respect our position shares many of the assumptions of the New Public Administration and of Greenfield's analysis of education administration.

Where we differ from Greenfield is over his assumption that because differences in values exist within society (and organisations, and education and schools and classrooms) there can be no bridge between such differences. He in fact makes the same mistake as Weber in assuming that differences in values are incommensurable and that there is no basis for negotiation over such differences. Greenfield's notion of leadership for instance is one which

recognizes the plurality of values in human society and that denies ultimate legitimacy to any action. What we are left with [in adopting such a position] is contention among values, or...among those who espouse different values. (1981:27)

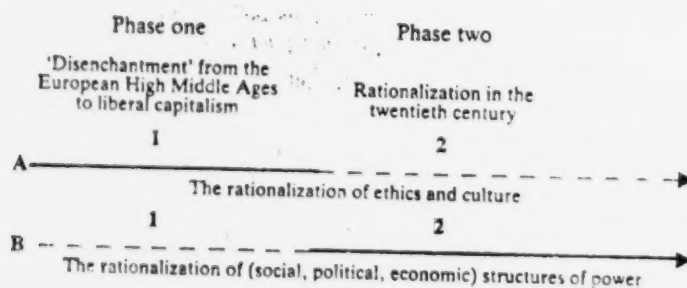
The problem with this position is, as Lakonski points out, that

While Greenfield is quite correct to point to the plurality of, and contention between, values, he draws the wrong inference from this that hence no rational appraisal of values can be given. (Lakonski, 1985: 50).

But this is not simply Greenfield's problem. As MacIntyre (1981) suggests the whole idea that knowledge could be based solely upon fact and that values could be relegated to a purely emotivist

realm of 'preference' can be sheeted home to the Enlightenment traditions in Western thought. Weber, for instance, argued within this tradition that the 'disenchantment' with religious thinking under pressures from the increasingly rationalised forms of social, political and economic life was indicative of the withering away of forms of value-rational (wertrational) action. However, as Habermas shows, this is not necessarily the case.

Habermas (1984) argues that Weber was mistaken in seeing the process of the rationalisation of society as being marked solely by the shift from value rational (wertrational) action to rational-purposive (zweckrational) action. Rather than such changes taking place along a single dimension of historical development (as Weber conceived the case to be) Habermas suggests that such developments occur along two parallel dimensions, one concerned with the rationalisation of ethics and culture (ideas) and the other with the rationalisation of (social, political and economic) structures of power (interests). Pusey (1987) presents this argument rather well with the aid of a simple diagram.



In reading Habermas's explanation of Weber's mistake and the necessary reconstruction of Weber's fundamental insight Pusey argues that through such a representation

We can now better understand Weber's mighty contribution, his 'mistakes', and the thrust of Habermas's reconstruction. The problem is that Weber's account of the rationalisation process is incomplete, discontinuous, and inconsistent...[for] Weber's focus

moves along the two (solid) lines A1 and B2. Weber's analysis of the first (phase one) of the rationalization process is cast in terms of the unfolding logic of development in the realm of culture and ethics (along line A1). The mistake and the inconsistency arise in the discontinuity of the explanatory framework as Weber 'switches tracks' in the shift from the first to the second phase that he thereafter 'one-sidedly' explains in terms of the social and structural institutionalization of power in the economy and the state (line B2) (Pusey, 1987:54).

Much of Habermas's work is devoted to the explication of what is needed to recover and rehabilitate the first of Weber's dimensions as a form of public argument over ethics and culture thus making possible a necessary dialectic between culture and structure.

Within such a theoretical understanding the recovery of ethics and culture as forms of public rationality which parallel and are of equal importance to the processes of rationalisation of power we can begin to see how Greenfield (and Weber's) problem can be restructured. Such a restructuring is of central importance in the reconstruction of educational administration seen as a cultural activity rather than solely as a process of instrumental rationalisation.

Clearly such a position is controversial (at least within the American setting), and is not without its critics. Indeed, one of the interesting outcomes of the development of this alternative paradigm is the engagement of scholars at various other institutions with some of the fundamental assumptions of the emerging tradition. Some of this critique has been engaged directly through meetings of the Group for Research on Educational Administration Theory (GREAT) which embraces researchers in the greater Melbourne area. Lakomski (Melbourne U.), Evers (Monash U), Gronn (Monash U), and Walker (Sydney U) have all contributed major analyses of some fundamental assumptions.

Some of this work, especially the earlier portions of it, has been taken up by an American friend of the group, Bill Foster. His, Paradigms and Promises (1986) develops from his early concerns with the application of critical theory (especially in its Habermasian form) to educational administration (Foster, 1980, 1984, 1985). Defining educational administration as a moral science, Foster reviews the history of administrative theories in education and then proceeds to lay the foundations for a critical analysis of educational administration which is then linked to a series of proposals for the involvement of administration in a radical reconstruction of schooling especially through reformulated notions of organisational change and leadership.

Conclusion

What, then, can we conclude from this brief excursus into the question of an alternative paradigm? Is there a new paradigm in educational administration? Is there indeed any sign of the paradigm diversity that Griffiths searches for as a precursor to an alternative paradigm?

On the basis of the preceding discussion it seems that the label of intellectual turmoil is probably something of an exaggeration -especially in the American context. Certainly Greenfield introduced and has continued to elaborate, a major critique of traditional assumptions. Few in North America have joined him in the difficult intellectual endeavour of developing a radically different theoretical position or an appropriate research methodology. His work has had more impact in the British Commonwealth, especially in Australia, but developments here have drawn on other strands of theoretical development in the wider social sciences. In particular a significant attempt to construct an alternative paradigm is proceeding, centered on Deakin University. The disappointment is that no other alternative paradigm seems to be developing elsewhere. We do not have a multiplicity of paradigms competing for recognition. The profession is gripped more by ennui than excitement.

This is potentially a serious problem for the field which, if

unresolved, is likely to lead to a withering away of programs and resources (see UCEA 1987). Whether the next few years will see the dissolving of the profession as professors retire and are not replaced in the United States; whether we will see a vigorous new influx of members of allied disciplines into educational administration, or whether we will see departments of educational administration and leadership taken over by business schools is yet to be seen. This latter possibility is quite plausible because the positivism of educational administration has played the technocrats game of defining administration as a universally applicable technical activity, thus making a sudden discovery that it is in fact an educational activity prone to the accusation of self interested sophistry. What seems clear at the moment is that without an alternative rationale for educational administration—one informed by a radically different paradigm the field is in a precarious and defenceless state.

So is there a new paradigm ? In terms of Kuhn's criteria of a set of background assumptions that are taken for granted by those in the field, the answer must be no, at least for the United States. The paradigm that provides the background assumptions is still that of a rather ambiguous and degraded positivism. The intellectual turmoil needed for the generation of paradigm diversity is absent. But at least one serious critique and another serious attempt to develop a comprehensive set of assumptions focussed on the redefinition of educational administration as a moral science within the context of critical theory are under way. Whether they will eventually form the basis of an alternative dominant paradigm it is too early to say.

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March 1988

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